5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

604 789 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *ba kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakaru sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 301 604 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 301 577 [778] When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big. *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 881 [266] The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 881 628 [754] *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

Chapter 3

Land tenure and social structure

a. The tribe and clan as territorial or political units

128 [614] [619] This section outlines the range of wider common territorial interests and concerted political action among traditional groupings. Clans are the largest units in which membership is determined by patrilineal filiation as distinct from the local allegiance underlying membership of the tribe, and of the 'district', village, etc., into which the tribe may be divided.

619 The tribe is the largest unit which has a common territory (Williams 1930:156-7). This is usually isolated from neighbouring tribal territories by a belt of uninhabited country and its occupants would speak of it as 'one ground', pusu tahavo. The territories of groups of various orders of inclusiveness within the tribe are also described in this way (see Williams 0.364; 1930:157).

[829] Members of a group of any of these levels might consider themselves as toho, 'countrymen' (see Williams 1930:166; 0.100, 364). In another context a group would consider others in the same tribe as kitoho (outsiders, aliens). All members of the tribe shared common enmities so that at times they would regard themselves as toho whereas neighbouring tribes were always considered kitoho.[1]

[578] There were customary restrictions upon feuding within the tribe. As Williams (1930:309 ff.) points out, this political unit is the largest group with its own intragroup morality, in this case sharply distinguished from the standard forms of hostility between tribes. Aggression against members of another tribe took the form of organized, often cannibalistic raids (isoro).

[266] [721]

[1] Williams (1930:160) mentions exceptions where 'friendship or affinity between certain tribes allowed the use of the former word' (toho), but 'tribes...normally stand in the mutual relation of Kitohu' (sic) (ibid: 170; see also 0.100, 364).

628 position in the structure: they held, one might say, a dual citizenship: effective citizenship in Sivepe where they lived, and residual citizenship in Soroputa and Agenahambo (in the case of one of them). Other Sivepe men held a similar kind of residual citizenship in various Isivita villages, e.g., Kiorota, Bagevoturu and others again in Awala, Koropata, etc. The marks of this residual citizenship were in each case: residual land rights (e.g., hunting and fishing rights, rights to the produce of certain trees), regular visiting, clearly traceable kinship links in the [621] patri- or matriline. In inter-village contacts we may therefore distinguish two types of role: the leader and the ambassador. The leader does not directly deal with the leader of another village, except if he happens to have residual citizenship there. Trust can be established only if the approach is made by a residual citizen who, by implication, is offering tangible security (his residual citizenship rights) for the truthfulness of his words and the honesty of his intentions.

It is in the relations with places such as Soroputa and Agenahambo that we can still see the traditional pattern of inter-village relations; within the Sasembata district itself, this pattern has become slightly obscured by the development of new forms of organisation under the influence of mission and government. Nonetheless, even in the type of relations I have just discussed, the pax Australiana has had its influence. If we survey the short list of inter-village linkages between Sivepe and the more distant parts of the Waseta "tribe" (and "more distant" effectively means no more here than over four miles away), we notice that in pre-contact times, wars with Waseta and Isivita were reported. The feast offered to Togahou by Sivepe in 1967 was an unprecendented event; the persons who mediated between the two villages to arrange the feast were descendants of war captives.

628 From the viewpoint of the present study, it is interesting
619 to inquire whether the eruption has had any effects that drew the Waseta "tribe" more closely together. This question is complicated
[731] by the conflicting descriptions we have of Orokaiva "tribes." A full discussion of the nature of Orokaiva "tribes" would be out of place here. Rimoldi (1966: 29-37) brings forward some strong arguments why a division into tribes, as attempted by Chinnery and Beaver, and Williams, is a hazardous enterprise. I have already stated my own opinion that the Orokaiva view of his social world is a set of concentric circles of increasing radius. Thus, I would agree with Williams that there is an area, comprising several dozen villages, within which an Orokaiva practises what Williams calls "intra-group morality" (1930: 311). Normally these several dozen villages are those immediately surrounding the village of
[582] residence. Within this area, marriages are contracted, cannibalistic
[721] raids do not occur and fights tend to involve comparatively little
[266] bloodshed. The circle of "intra-group morality" varies for every

village. Williams, in marking out his "Waseta tribe," with Waseta at the centre, excluded the Soroputa people from this "tribe" (vide Map X), but "intra-group morality" definitely prevailed between Soroputa and neighboring Sivepa. There never were cannibalistic raids between these two villages, which included each other in their "intra-group morality" circle.

It so happens that the people who were brought together at Ilimo consisted preponderantly of members of what Williams called the "Waseta tribe." The only bonds existing between the members of this tribe were the individual kinship and friendship networks and the solidarity of "intra-group morality" circles. The camp was built as a set of separate villages, each under its own village constable, eating and living separately, though more closely together than formerly. I obtained from a number of Sivepe men a list of "friends" and inquired into the occasion when the friendship started; in no case did it start at Ilimo. On the other hand, the camps led to a number of marriages between people from different villages. This tendency was especially pronounced at Hohorita, which is understandable as so many refugees had lost their families during the eruption. In Sivepe I found one case of a man who married an Agenahambo woman whom he met at Ilimo.

If "tribal" solidarity was dubious before the Ilimo camp period, (the atmosphere of an evacuation camp was certainly not a suitable one for developing it. Both Belshaw and Keesing emphasize the anxiety of the inhabitants, their strong desire to return to their home villages, while I have also emphasized their distrust of "others" who might wish to occupy their land; these "others" would inevitably be other members of the Waseta "tribe," although perhaps the Europeans were likewise suspected of predatory aims. (For such suspicion, I do not, however, have evidence.)

A sense of district solidarity did tend to grow up after the eruption, but it can be traced to formal organisations in which Orokaiva occupied roles which brought them into contact with people from other villages. Sometimes these were élite roles, which will be considered below; sometimes they were roles open to anyone, such as that of worker in paid employment, patient in a hospital, pupil in a secondary or advanced primary school, participant in a large-scale public celebration, such as were held in Popondetta and Saiho.

The government is actively attempting to create among the Orokaiva larger solidary units than existed in the past. We may thus explain the various attempts that are made to bring Orokaiva people together in the local government council, at numerous sports meetings and celebrations such as at Christmas and New Year, and by any other expedient means. Without the popular acceptance of the local government council the establishing of a land boundary between Sivepe and Soroputa or Agenehambo, to stay with my previous example, would have been hard to imagine. Yet it

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 9--Analyst]